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ARMED FORCES AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
IN THE CASE OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

by

Sukirno

March, 1990

Thesis Advisor:

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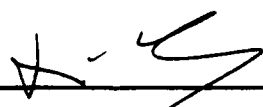
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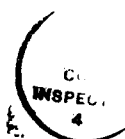

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ABSTRACT

As a modern organization, the military becomes aware of the need for transition and it often becomes an agent of change for society. In the context of national development the military represents a major institution in the country of Indonesia. Its enormous size has made it the most powerful and well-organized group within Indonesian society, imparting modern values to the still traditional milieu. Thus, the Indonesian Armed Forces have a double function of playing a central role of contributing to the nation's development, first, as a defense and security force and secondly, as a socio-political force.

The Indonesian Armed Forces as a modern institution has significantly contributed to the development of the Republic of Indonesia. This thesis will contribute toward a better understanding of the role of the armed forces and their contribution to national development.



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I. INTRODUCTION

In many of the new countries that have emerged in the recent era of decolonization, the military plays a vital role. As a revolutionary force it has contributed to the disintegration of traditional political order. As a stabilizing force it has kept some countries from falling prey to communist rule. As a modernizing force it has championed the middle-class aspirations of popular demands for social change, and has provided administrative and technological skills to the civilian sector of countries in which such skills are scarce [Ref. 1]. Military intervention in politics has been a general trend in developing countries since the 1960's. Contributions of the military forces to these countries have resulted in a mixed record.

In Burma, prior to the spring of 1958, the civilian government was fractionalized and beginning to crumble. Various groups within the ruling party had created autonomous power bases. A falling out among top leaders of the party threatened to result in the disintegration of every important institution in the land. Only the Army remained united and its intervention and seizure of power in 1958 saved the nation from collapse. Subsequently, the Burmese army manifested entrepreneurial traits over a wide range of activities, from the economic sphere to the political, and to a lesser extent the educational and social spheres. There was a marked improvement in efficiency in public administration. Authority also became far more regulated and predictable.

The Nationalist Chinese Army's (KMT) presence on Taiwan preceded the country's defeat by the Chinese Communists in 1949. There, the KMT reestablished the Government of the Republic of China with its capital at Taipei. The immediate problem for the KMT was not the recapture of the mainland, but the garrisoning and defense of Taiwan from invading Communists. Despite underlying animosities between the mainlander minority and Taiwanese majority, the armed forces became the defenders of Taiwan's value system. United States military assistance and its security commitment to Taiwan have been significant factors in the development of the armed forces as an institution, and as the deterrent of an attack by Red China.

During the 1950's and 1960's, the dominant trend was the growing prestige of the Taiwan Armed Forces as an institution. The military's effective propaganda apparatus and its relative success, with U.S. backing, in confrontation with Red China enhanced the military's reputation among the people. As more and more Taiwanese completed military service and were transferred to the civilian population, they found that success in the military permitted a measure of upward mobility; technical training received on active duty enabled them to find a better job in the civilian world.

Beginning in 1950, Taiwan's military engaged in civic action programs to enhance its reputation and gain civilian support. Soldiers routinely went into the countryside at harvest time to assist farmers, and the military's response to disaster relief has been recognized by all segments of Taiwan's society. Thus, U.S. military assistance and Taiwan's expanding economy have created conditions under which the military is not only responsible for the island's defense, but also has permitted it to play a role in the political, economic, and social development of Taiwan. Nevertheless,

the 1977 riot in Chungli and the 1979 riot in Kaohsiung demonstrated the animosity many Taiwanese feel for the government because of its suppression of Taiwanese participation in politics and limitations on the freedom of expression and human rights [Ref. 2]. There is evidence that discrimination and perception of differences between the Taiwanese and the KMT continue to hinder stability in the economics and politics of Taiwan.

Similarly, in the course of history of the nation's struggle to uphold the proclamation of independence of August 1945, the Indonesian Armed Forces (ABRI) have played a significant role in the defense, security affairs and socio-political affairs of the country. The ABRI, which was born in the turbulence of revolution, has never been merely an instrument to maintain security. As a fighter for independence, ABRI never remains neutral about the direction of state policy, the safety of the state and national development. The ABRI has not only a military technical mission, but it has also a mission in every field of social life. The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate the extent to which the Armed Forces have contributed to the national development of Indonesia.

II. NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

National development is a multi-dimensional concept and its complexity has proven perplexing to many observers and practitioners. According to Taketsugu Tsurutani, national development as a goal is "The attainment of a certain desired state of affairs for man and society" [Ref. 3]. This includes a politically, socially and economically integrated society with built-in capacities for continuous adaptation and growth, and standardized processes and methods for the resolution of conflict and the generation of change.

According to Perrel Heady, "In essence, the distinctive quality of the development ideology is the agreement on the desirability of the joint goals of nation building and national progress combined with a sense of movement toward fulfillment of long-delayed destiny, underlying which is a nagging uncertainty concerning the prospects for eventual success" [Ref. 4]. In essence, nation means people, a group of individuals sharing common history, tradition and culture. Development refers to socio-demographic, structural, and value changes from traditional to modern. It also refers to the capacity to adjust to a new situation. Above all, however, it connotes promotion of the people's welfare. In other words, development means people leading a better life than they did before any change.

In the case of the Republic of Indonesia, according to the preamble of the 1945 Constitution, the national aim is to protect the whole of the Indonesian nation and country; to promote the general welfare, intellectual and national life; and to participate

in creating a world order based on independence, eternal peace and social justice [Ref. 5].

On March 22, 1978, the elected People's Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia formulated the Guidelines of State Policy into the Basic Pattern of National Development and General Pattern Long-Term Development. This was done in order to provide a picture of the desired shape of the future, whether in the succeeding five-years or a long term development prospect.

The Guidelines of State Policy as decreed by the People's Consultative Assembly shall be carried out by the President [Ref. 6]. This is mandated by the People's Consultative Assembly as law and regulations and in the form of government policies. Every five years, the Guidelines of State Policy would then be reviewed for adjustment in response to any new and major developments. National Development is aimed at creating an equitably just and prosperous society, both materially and spiritually.

Based on the basic notion that the essence of the development is the development of the Indonesian human being and of the entire Indonesian community, the foundations for the implementation of National Development are Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.

Pancasila is the philosophical basis of the Indonesian State, Panca meaning five, Sila meaning principles. Pancasila consists of the five inseparable and mutually qualifying principles which are:

- 1st Sila: Belief in the one God.
- 2nd Sila: Just and civilized humanity.
- 3rd Sila: The unity of Indonesia.

- 4th Sila: Democracy led by the wisdom of deliberations among representative.
- 5th Sila: Social justice for the whole of the people of Indonesia.

A. BASIC ASSETS

The basic assets owned by the Indonesian people and the nation in National Development are:

- The independence and sovereignty of the Indonesian nation.
- The geographical location of Indonesia along the equator and positioned strategically as a linking area situated on the cross-road between two continents and two oceans.
- Natural resources on land and at sea provide livelihood for the nation.
- The very large population, if it can be fostered and mobilized as an effective labor force, is very advantageous for developmental efforts in all fields.
- The spiritual, mental and cultural assets.
- The Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia for defense and security as well as social forces.

In mobilizing and utilizing the basic asset of development for the achievement of the aim of the National Development, attention should be paid to the following factors:

- The demographic and Social-Cultural factors.
- The geographical, hydrographical and geological factors.
- The climatological factors.
- The flora and fauna factors.
- The development possibility factors.

B. THE ARCHIPELAGIC CONCEPT

The basic concept used for the achievement of the aims of National Development is the Archipelagic Concept, which covers:

1. Realization of the Indonesian Archipelago as one political entity, in the sense:
 - That the nation's territory as a whole with all its contents and resources is a territorial unit and dimensional unit for the entire nation.
 - The Indonesian Nation, which consist of various ethnic groups and speaks in various regional languages, must constitute a compact national unit in the broadest sense of the word.
 - That Pancasila is the only philosophy and ideology of the Nation and State, and serves as a foundation for guiding the Nation towards its goals.
2. The realization of the Indonesian Archipelago as one social and cultural entity, in the sense:
 - That the Indonesian society is one entity.
 - That the Indonesian culture is essentially one, while the existing cultural variety pictures the richness of the Nation's culture, and becomes an asset and a foundation for the development of the Nation's culture as a whole.
3. The realization of the Indonesian Archipelago as an economic entity, in the sense:
 - The level of economic development must be compatible and balanced in all regions.
 - The potential as well as the effective wealth of the Archipelago's territory constitutes the joint asset and property of the Nation.

4. The realization of the Indonesian Archipelago as a defense and security entity, in the sense:

- That a threat against one island or one region is in fact a threat against the entire Indonesian Nation and State.
- That each citizen has equal rights and obligations in the framework of the State of National Defense.

5. National resilience.

- National Resilience is a dynamic condition which constitutes the integration of every aspect of the life of the State and Nation.
- The success of National Development will enhance National Resilience. Strong Resilience in turn will further stimulate National Development.

C. THE PATTERN OF LONG-TERM DEVELOPMENT

Based on the concept of National Development, a general pattern for long term development has been drawn up in a plan by the People's Consultative assembly of the Republic of Indonesia (MPR) covering a period of 25 to 30 years. The general pattern for Long-Term development was already started in 1969 with the execution of the first five-year Development Plan. This plan was followed by the second, the third and then by the fourth five-year Development Plan continuing in a series of five-years Development Plans.

The aim of each stage of development is to improve the nation building, the living standard, and the welfare of all of the people and to lay down a strong basis for the development in the next stage.

D. THE DIRECTION OF LONG-TERM DEVELOPMENT

- National Development is carried out in the framework of the development of the Indonesian human being in totality, and the development of the entire Indonesian community.
- The main target of the development is to create a strong basis for the Indonesian Nation to grow and develop with its own strength toward a just and prosperous society based on the Pancasila.
- In order that the economic development and the improvement of the people's welfare can be realized speedily, they must be accompanied by control in the growth of the population through family planning programs. The program must be implemented successfully because failure will render the results of the development efforts meaningless and can endanger the generations to come.
- The Indonesian's natural resources must be used rationally. Exploitation of natural resources must not damage human living environments.
- Economic development implies the transformation of potential economic strength into real economic strength through capital investments, the use of technology, and the improvement of organization and managerial abilities.
- The use of technology and science in the implementation of development must be based on the condition that it continues to provide ample opportunities for employments.
- Economic development which is based on Economic Democracy provides that the community must take an active part in the development activities.

E. THE TARGETS OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The targets to achieve in the various fields through the implantation of long term development are as follows:

- In the economic field. A balanced economic structure in which advances in industrial capability and strength are supported by solid agricultural capability and strength.
- In the Religion and Social culture. Based on the nation's belief in God Almighty, the life of the Indonesians and the community must really be in harmony with each other and their God. Cultural forms as manifestations of

individual Indonesian human beings must demonstrate living values and ethical meanings which are inspired by Pancasila.

- In the political field. In the domestic political field it is necessary to firmly implant consciousness of the political and state life based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution for every citizen. In the field of Foreign policy which is independent and active, it will be important for Indonesia to continue stepping up her role in making her contribution to take part in efforts to create eternal world peace and justice.
- In the field of defense and security. The doctrine of National Defense and Security, a system of total people's defense, is created that is capable of ensuring success in safe-guarding the national struggle in general, and national development in particular, from any threat coming from abroad or from within the country. [Ref. 6]

In the implementation of the doctrine above, the Indonesian Armed Forces, which were born from the people and fought with them to uphold and give substance to the country's independence, are the nucleus of the Total People's Defense and Security. Apart of being defense and security forces, the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia also contribute to a social force.

The military as a modern institution, according to Morris Janowitz, possesses modern skills, weapons and equipments [Ref. 7]. It also enjoys a relatively disciplined and cohesive organization. Its modernistic values also include scientific planning, work efficiency and effectiveness, control and measurement. In addition, specialization, accountability and responsibility are emphasized. A strong sense of duty and honor is also regarded as a military virtue. The military's access to international communications and its role as the defender of national sovereignty make it also a highly nationalist group.

As Lucian Pye, among others, has maintained, the military, in the context of third world development is the most modern and easily created organization [Ref. 1]. Once

created, the military in developing nations can initiate a modern role in a non-modern environment. As a modern organization, furthermore, the military becomes aware of the need for a change to other sectors of the society, and it often becomes an agent of modernization.

In relationship to development, the participation of the Armed Forces (ABRI) can be approached from two perspectives. First as a defense and security force, the ABRI acts as the government apparatus to defend and protect the united state of the republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution against all sorts of threats from without as well as from within and to achieve national goals. Secondly, as a socio-political force, it carries out numerous civic duties including maintaining and intensifying the national stability in all fields of national concern. The status of the ABRI as a socio-political force is the same as that of the political parties in line with the existing law among other things becoming members of legislative, executive and judicative bodies. Both have the obligation to support and safeguard Pancasila which must be conducted democratically. The ABRI always looks upon the political parties as partners who support each other for the success of National Development, thus realizing dynamic stability and strengthening the national resilience. More detail about the participation of the ABRI in National Development will be discussed in chapters four, five and six.

In comparison to military history in countries such as in Europe, or even compared to the military history of the United States, Indonesia's military history is still very modest indeed. But perhaps Indonesia's military history is important at the present time as the story of one of the Armed Forces in the third world, or in the

developing countries or new nations, which, like it or not, are playing a very significant role in the nation-building and in the national development process. In this connection, the military history of modern Indonesia might contribute to a better understanding concerning the role of the Armed Forces in National Development. This will be discussed in the next chapter.

III. THE HISTORY OF THE INDONESIAN ARMED FORCES

Although this chapter will present the course of history of the ABRI from the Period of Survival until the Period of giving substance to the Independence, it is still necessary to introduce two preceding periods, namely the Pre-national Period and the Reawakening Period. It is also necessary to define nationalism, which forms the basis of this periodization.

According to Hans Kohn, a historian specializing in nationalism, in his book Nationalism:

"Nationalism is a state of mind inspiring the large majority of people and claiming to inspire all its members. It asserts that the nation-state is the ideal and the only legitimate form of political organization and that the nationality is the source of all cultural creative energy and of economic well-being" [Ref. 8]. The supreme loyalty of the individual is therefore due to his nationality, as his own life that it is supposedly rooted in, and made possible by its welfare.

A. THE PRE-NATIONAL PERIOD (1800-1908)

Though the Indonesians trace their history to the ancient empires of Sriwijaya and Mojopahit, little is known about the military in pre-colonial times. By the nineteenth century, the small Indonesian kingdoms had exhausted themselves with internecine warfare, thus facilitating the divide-and-rule approach of European colonial powers, especially by the Dutch. Indonesian princes and popular leaders tried to resist the onslaught of Western imperialism. Well-known are the names of Fatahillah who

defeated the Portuguese flotilla in the Jakarta Bay, and Sultan Agung who tried to drive away the Dutch from Jakarta. Sultan Hasanudin of Makasar (South Sulawesi), Sultan Tirtayasa of Banten (West Java), and Sultan Nuku of Tidore (Maluku) all tried to expel the Dutch from their kingdoms. Their resistance was futile, and in the end, the whole of Indonesia was conquered by Western imperialism, especially Dutch imperialism. Most of its territory was physically occupied by the Dutch colonialism. However the struggle of the Indonesian people was not over. From the middle of the eighteenth century, revolts broke out against Dutch power, led by leaders of various backgrounds such as Diponegoro, Trunojoyo, Pattimura, Si Singamangeraja and many others. All their efforts failed because of their lack of "modernity" in warfare as compared to Western nations.

The struggle during these periods was often called "National Heroes in the Region" and was not based on a national foundation. Its scope was limited to certain kingdoms, while its aim was to defend the independence of the respective kingdoms against the encroachments of Western imperialism.

The colonial Dutch government's effort to fill its needs for skilled and trained labor for its various enterprises had provided for the education of the Indonesian people. Through this Western education, Western modernism entered the Indonesian society and within a short period, an elite group was formed, which had modern nationalist aspirations and which was acquainted with modern methods. Later, this group established and guided the nationalist movement to forge national unity and achieved national independence.

The year of 1908 is notable for the foundation of the Budi Utomo, which was formed by Dr. Sutomo. This was the first modern organization used as an instrument of struggle by the Indonesian people. This was the beginning of the Period of National Reawakening.

B. THE NATIONAL REAWAKENING PERIOD (1908-1945)

During the First World War, Indonesian nationalist groups were divided as to whether the Dutch should conscript Indonesians into military service. Sarekat Islam leaders in East Java contended that unless native Indonesians were provided a representative body, in which they could freely express their political opinions, they should not be conscripted for defense purposes. Budi Utomo leaders in West Java, however, basically favored conscription and hoped that military service would help the nascent Nationalist movement by instilling discipline in otherwise unruly Javanese youth.

By the Second World War, the Dutch had organized Indonesians into a colonial army known as Koninklijk Nederlands Indisch Leger (KNIL). Leadership of KNIL was in the hands of Dutch officers. KNIL forces were comprised of companies from different regions. Thus, troops from Menado and Ambon could be used to put down disturbances on Java, while Sundanese, Javanese and Batak troops could be used in eastern Indonesia. Many Indonesians viewed KNIL as a caste set apart from, and occasionally against, Indonesian nationalist aspirations.

During the Second World War Indonesia was occupied by the imperial Japanese forces, and the Indonesian nationalist movement faced a new situation. Having to face the military fascist Japanese regime, the most prominent leaders of the nationalist

movement under the leadership of Sukarno and Hatta cooperated with the Japanese to prepare the people for independence, which had been anticipated to be accomplished at the end of World War Two.

In 1943 the Japanese military government created two large organizations to provide manpower badly needed for their war effort. Heiho troops were established and organized as indigenous personnel as well as auxiliary troops for transport, road building, and antiaircraft defense duties. Though occasionally armed, Heiho troops were more often used as servants and conscript labor than as independent soldiers, so they received only two months of training. Nonetheless, by the end of 1945 some Indonesian people received military experience through Heiho.

More important for the future of the Indonesian army was PETA, the army for defense of the Fatherland. Started in late 1943 by Japanese military intelligence, PETA was designed to assist Japanese troops to defend Java from Allied attack.

PETA units were organized as territorial defense forces rather than as maneuver battalions. Arms and uniforms came largely from captured Dutch stocks. Though PETA was supposed to consist entirely of indigenous personnel, it never reached autonomous status. The Japanese appointed Indonesian battalion commanders, but these men received only a few months of training. There was no central indigenous PETA leadership above battalion level because the Japanese were wary of the fighting ability and loyalty of PETA and other forces. So, virtually no effort was made to train Indonesian staff officers. PETA was not involved in any combat experience except rebellion against the Japanese in the city of Blitar East Java.

Because of the cooperation between the Indonesian nationalist movement and the Japanese Military Administration, Indonesia's leaders were able to complete the preparation for the independence of Indonesia by utilizing the Japanese government apparatus. Owing to the deterioration of their war situation, the Japanese then gave the promise of independence "in the near future". To prepare for the realization of this promise, the Japanese aided the formation of the "Committee to investigate the preparations for independence," the members of which were leaders of the Indonesian Nationalist Movement. This committee succeeded in formulating a draft of the constitution including the state philosophy, which afterwards was known by the name of Pancasila. The proclamation was then announced on the seventeenth of August 1945, from whence Indonesia became an independent State. Now, even though facing a strong opposition from the Japanese leaders, the time had arrived when the Indonesian people had to defend their independence from encroachments of the Dutch colonialists.

C. THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE PERIOD (1945-1949)

The situation faced by Indonesia after the proclamation of 17 August 1945 was full of imponderables. On one hand, there was the fact that the Japanese empire had lost the war and had surrendered to the Allies, but its military forces stationed in Indonesia could be said to be still intact. Furthermore, they received an order from the Allies to maintain Indonesia as a colony. On the other hand while the Allies won the war, they did not yet have forces in Indonesia because they had to repatriate their internees and troops. Because of this, the Dutch were not able to come to Indonesia in time to take over the area.

Democratically, the National leadership had to face the task of establishing independence over the whole territory of Indonesia from Sabang to Merauke. The governmental instruments of power had to be established everywhere. The sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia had to be actualized from the proclamation itself.

Facing such a situation, the older leaders stipulated a policy of diplomacy. All forces had been directed to diplomacy. Everything which might harm the independence effort was pushed aside.

Seen from a "generation" point of view, the leaders within the government belonged to the "older" generation, who were already established figures in the nationalist movement under the Dutch rule. Meanwhile, a new generation had arrived that was known as "the generation of 1945".

The new generation did not like the policies of the older leaders within the government. The new generation wanted the formation of force, especially physical force. Diplomacy without the support of force could not produce the desired results. But the older leaders were the ones in charge of the leadership of the state, so it was they who had their way.

In accordance with the policy and strategy of diplomacy, the national leaders made strenuous efforts to build an image of a peace-loving and a democratic nation to the outside world ,especially to the Allies. They were afraid of being called "military". This is the reason why they would not immediately form an Army but only a People's Security Body (BKR). Its function was not much different from that of the present Civilian Defense Organization. The new generation, who weren't content with the decision of the National leadership controlled by the older generation, adopted two

different attitudes. Part of them decided "to make the best of it" and joined the BKR at their respective localities. They made these BKR units the instrument of State power and utilized them to capture weapons and government buildings from the Japanese. They considered themselves freedom-fighters and the BKR their vehicle of struggle. Another part of the youth formed the so-called "struggle organization" which had both a military and a political character. It was clear that they too considered themselves freedom-fighters. The BKR units were formed at the end of August, and during the following month the National leadership already realized that it was indeed impossible to have a government without an apparatus of power. This led directly to the formation of the People's Security Army (TKR) as a regular Army on 5 October 1945.

The 5th of October has since been celebrated every year as Armed Forces Day. Meanwhile, the struggle organization remained to exist beside the regular Army. Generally, they did not acknowledge the authority of the Army Command, which caused much trouble and confusion especially at the front lines. In 1947, by Presidential decision, the regular Army and Irregular Armed Groups were united within one Army which was called the Indonesia National Army (TNI). The Indonesian National Army consisted of a Ground Force, a Naval Force and an Air Force. Based on the government decision in June 1946, the State Police subordinated themselves to the Prime Minister. The said decision came into force on 1 July 1946, and the 1st of July has been sanctioned as Police Day.

In 1948, at the height of the struggle against the Dutch, a Communist supported revolt occurred in Madiun, East Java. Today the Madiun affair is viewed by the

Indonesian military as the first example of Communist betrayal, subverting the country even during the War of Independence. When the Dutch launched the second military action in 1948 against the newly born Republic of Indonesia, many of the national leaders were captured by the Dutch forces. At that critical moment, General Sudirman Commander in chief of ABRI made the historic decision, and refused to surrender. He joined his troops and continued to fight a guerilla war against the Dutch. His decision made the soldiers of the ABRI regain their self-confidence. Practically, ABRI was the only organization of the Republic that still survived and continued its struggle. Therefore, it was natural that the people did not lose faith in ABRI and thereby turned to ABRI for guidance.

D. THE LIBERAL PERIOD (1950-1959)

In 1950, shortly after achieving full independence, Indonesia adopted a parliamentary constitution in which the military was clearly subordinate to civilian authority. During this period there were over a hundred political parties on the scene, elbowing themselves into the power structure during the nine year period. Indonesia experienced eight cabinets, each of them having a lifetime of approximately one to one and a half years. It was obvious that in such a short period of time a government could not do much for the people.

During this period, ABRI was kept busy with military operations to suppress rebellions in various parts of the country. Those military operations brought ABRI into close contact with the people in the countryside. Facing the deteriorating situation, it was felt that ABRI should be called to do something in the political process in order to improve the welfare of the people. As political tension heated up, President

Sukarno needed the support of ABRI to find a drastic solution to avert more chaos. With the support of ABRI, President Sukarno declared the 1959 decree, dissolving the Constituent Assembly that had failed to establish a new constitution, abrogating the provisional constitution of 1950, and reinstating the 1945 Constitution.

E. THE GUIDED DEMOCRACY PERIOD (1959-1965)

A new political order came into being. The system of liberal democracy was replaced by guided democracy. But there was too much guidance and too little democracy. With respect to fulfilling the real needs of the people, there were not many differences. The period of guided democracy was characterized by domination of the autocratic leadership of the late President Sukarno and his obsession with eradicating imperialism and colonialism in the world in the shortest possible time. Practical needs of the people were largely neglected, opening a way to Communist efforts to position themselves as the real champion of the people. ABRI did everything possible to safeguard the Pancasila. The political tension culminated in the coup attempt by the Communists to seize power in 1965. ABRI crushed the Communist rebellion within a day in Jakarta, and the coup attempt was dissolved. Based on the order of March 11, 1966, General Suharto was given full authority to take all the steps he considered necessary to guarantee the security, tranquility and stability in the interest of the unity of the nation. General Suharto disbanded the Communists and established a new order, which in essence meant the creation of a system of life for the people, nation and state based on the pure implementation of the Pancasila and the 1945 constitution.

F. THE NEW ORDER PERIOD (1965-)

Since 1964, the State Police of the Republic of Indonesia have been a component of the Armed Forces. Their rank is equal to that of the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force and they are subordinated to the Minister-Coordinator of the Security and Chief Of Staff the Armed Forces. In order to achieve a better balance and synchronization between efforts and objectives in the framework of implementation tasks in the field of defense and security, on 24 August 1967 the president issued the presidential decision concerning the amendment to the stipulation of organization procedures in the field of defense and security.

Furthermore in 1974, a presidential decision sanctioned among other things, the alterations of the names of the forces of the Army (TNI-AD), the Navy (TNI-AL), the Air Force (TNI-AU), where the State Police of the republic of Indonesia continued to use the predicate of the State Police Of The Republic of Indonesia (POLRI). In the course of its history, the Armed Forces has always been the unity and the provider of safety to the nation and the state. Nevertheless, the Armed Forces maintained its identity and always managed to overcome all threats. The identity and role of the Armed Forces is the upholding of Pancasila, and the ideals of the Indonesian nation have been formulated concisely in the Sapta Marga (seven Pledges of the Servicemen).
[Ref. 9]

History has clearly shown that the birth of the Indonesian National Army in 1945 resulted in a voluntary basis so that it could recruit from the whole people to fight for their Fatherland and nation. A part of these fighting people then became members of the Armed Forces, so the Armed Forces emerged from the fighting people.

IV. THE NATIONAL DEFENSE AND SECURITY

The armed forces' operations relating to the military function were based on a well-developed doctrine of national defense that was grounded in the experiences of ABRI during the National Revolution. That doctrine proclaimed that Indonesia could neither afford to maintain a large armed forces establishment nor would it compromise its hard-fought for independence by sacrificing its non-aligned status or depend on other nations to provide its defense. Instead, the Nation would have to defend itself using a strategy of territorial guerilla warfare in which the armed forces, deployed throughout the nation, would serve as a cadre force to relay and lead the entire population into a people's war of defense. Military planners envisioned that this strategy would entail a three-stage war, comprising a short initial period in which an invader would defeat Indonesian resistance and establish its own control, a long period of unconventional regionally-based fighting, and a final phase in which the invaders would be eventually repelled.

The success of this strategy, requires that a close bond be maintained between citizen and soldier so that the armed forces would enjoy the support of the entire population and have the ability to manage all war-related resources. In trying to attain these goals, ABRI has maintained a territorial organization run mainly by army personnel who guarantees public order in their local areas and also exerts substantial influence over local decisions regarding such matters as population distribution, the production of food and strategic materials, and the development of the air and sea

transport, as well as anything else that could immediately effect the course of war for national defense.

Some of retired military personnel become part of Indonesia's transmigrant effort and move to remote areas, on the outer island where they become pillars in their new communities. In addition, the Armed forces personnel have regularly engaged in large scale civic projects involving community and rural development in their areas in order to have a closer bond with the people and to ensure the continued support of the populace. More detail will be provided in chapter six.

A. THE BASIC TASK OF THE STATE DEFENSE AND SECURITY

Defense and security are particular government functions that encompass efforts to face any threats from within and without. The basic task of state defense and security consists first of developing and promoting the repulsion forces and power of the nation and state that are capable of eliminating threats from without in whatever form. Secondly, raising security efforts by strengthening the state and nation's repulsion forces and power that are capable of eliminating threats from within in whatever form.

Both of these efforts are being realized through the total people's defense and security with ABRI as its core that is ready at any time, and the entire people's strength and the nation's assets as supporting factors that could be mobilized at any given time.

B. THE NATIONAL DEFENSE AND SECURITY POLICY

The development of national defense and security is an integral part of overall National Development. The success of National Development will strengthen national resilience and thereby will enhance the acceleration of the development.

Three lines of policy are drawn in the efforts of national defense and security development. First, the effort to improve domestic peace and order is a prerequisite in promoting national stability in all fields. Second, the consolidation of national defense and security forces as well as a socio-political force is required. Third, the maintenance of resilience and vigilance of the national defense and security forces in facing all kinds of possibilities is needed. These three basic policies are required to enhance the implementation of development in the economic, political, and socio-cultural as well as defense and security fields. [Ref. 9]

C. TOTAL DEFENSE SYSTEM

Originating from the Indonesian national philosophy and view of life, the state defense and security of the Republic of Indonesia are essentially the efforts to realize an integrated force in the context of the archipelagic concept for achieving the national goals. The aim of Defense and Security is to continue to secure and uphold the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 constitution against all sorts of threats from without as well as from within and to achieve the national goals.

Efforts in the field of defense and security are realized within the system of Total People's Defense and Security by making use of the natural resources and the overall

national infrastructures in an integrated manner and being directed, justly and equitably, to be carried out by the government and to be planned as early as possible.

The Total People's Defense System is exercised to promote national resilience by developing, maintaining and cultivating all components of State defense and security, which consists of:

- Trained people as the basic component.
- The armed forces and their reserves as the main component.
- The people's protection as a special component.
- The natural resources, artificial resources and national infrastructures as a supporting component.

The president holds the highest authority over the Army, the Navy, the Air Force and the Police force, and over the management of the defense and security of the state [Ref. 9]. Accordingly, the President is assisted by the Minister of Defense and Security who carries out the fostering of the state defense and security capabilities and of the effective use of the available national resources. In executing his authority of command over the implementation of the defense and security of the state, the President is assisted by the Commander in Chief of the Armed forces, who is the head of the Headquarters of the Armed forces of the Republic of Indonesia, in carrying out the responsibility for the development and deployment of the Armed forces.

D. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE STATE DEFENSE AND SECURITY

The national development in the field of defense and security is nothing less than the development of the ability and strength of the Nation and State to face all kinds of internal and external threats and disturbances.

In pursuance of the state defense and security doctrine, the development of the state defense is the creation of a Total People's Defense and Security System, that is capable of safeguarding the national struggle in general, the national development in particular, against threats from within as well as from without, thus securing the national efforts to realize the national ideals.

As drawn in the Guideline State Policy, the development of defense and security is as follows:

- The rights, duties and honour of every Indonesian citizen to participate in the efforts to defend the country, should be carried out on the principle of justice and equity in the discharge of the defense and security tasks as dictated by valid law.
- The core of national defense and security is total people's defense which is organized, prepared and operated integrally under one command of the armed resistance on the basis of self resilience and of the will never to surrender to the enemy. For this purpose, the integration between the armed forces and the people should be firmly implanted in order to establish an effective defense and security force with strong mental resilience.
- In the framework of modernizing the operation of national defense and security, particularly the modernization of the ABRI, appropriate management operation techniques and equipments will be used in conformity to the level of technological progress.
- Maintenance and care play a very important role in guaranteeing the readiness of equipments which will also be decisive for the level of ability of defense and security. The limited amount of available equipments should be made up with high maintenance ability.

- The development of public security and order is directed towards the development of a system pertaining to public security and order based on self-help, auto-activity and self-support, with a capable, skillful and authoritative law-enforcement apparatus at its nucleus.

The promotion and development of the capabilities and potential of State Defense and Security are not directed towards the waging of war against any country, but to defend the State and Nation against dangerous security threats.

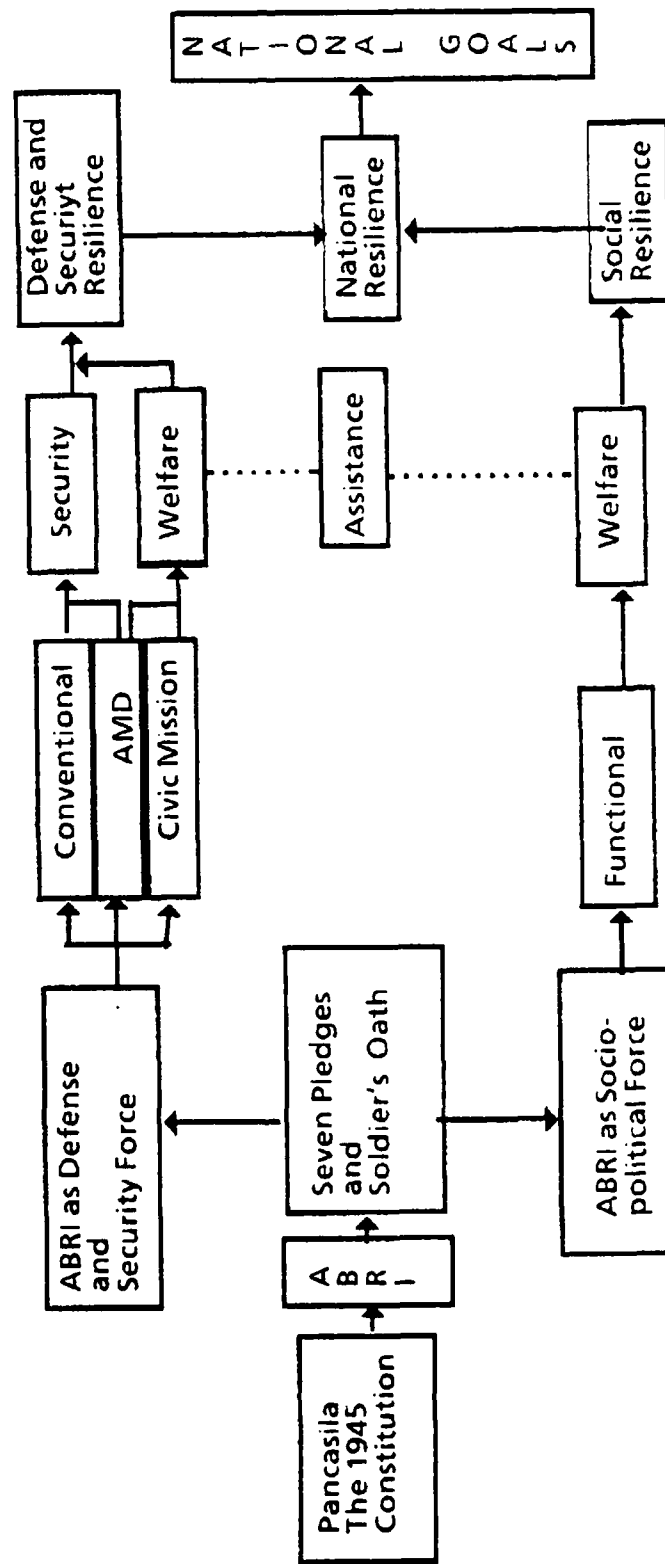
V. THE DUAL FUNCTION OF INDONESIAN ARMED FORCES

The role of the Indonesian Armed Forces in society is officially formulated under the name of Dual Function. As we have seen in its historical background, the Armed Forces had its origins in the youth freedom fighters of 1945, both in the BKR and in the "struggle organizations". Out of the ethos of being a freedom fighter first and a soldier second, has come the concept of the Dual Function, namely the function of freedom fighter later broadened into the function of socio-political force, and the function of soldier later broadened into the defense and security function or military function [Ref. 10].

The Indonesian Armed Forces is a modern organization. Its members are trained and educated people. The development and management of the ABRI is very dependent on the development and upholding of the whole state; therefore, the ABRI has a great interest in the modernizing process of the state and society and is eager to play a vital role in the process. In the beginning, the ABRI had only a limited role in nonmilitary activities, but then pressed by several crises, the ABRI has gradually been forced to enlarge its role.

Although the ABRI is fully aware that its responsibility towards the safety, the security, the welfare and prosperity of the Indonesian Nation has become absolute, the ABRI does not desire unlimited power. In 1978, the Indonesian people, through their representatives in the Consultative Assembly (Congress), declared ABRI with its Dual Function as one of the basic assets of the national development. Figure 1 shows the

Figure 1: DUAL FUNCTION OF THE ARMED FORCES



scope of the role of the Indonesian Armed Forces in the national development under the Dual Function Doctrine.

A. THE BASIC PHILOSOPHY

ABRI, the Government, and Indonesian Society take as their political touchstones the Pancasila Philosophy and the 1945 Constitution. In addition the Seven Pledges and the Soldier's Oath are held by military personnel. The Pancasila is expressed in the preamble to the 1945 constitution as follows:

We believe in an all-embracing God; in righteous and moral unity, in the unity of Indonesia. We believe in democracy, wisely guided and led by close contact with the people through consultation so that there shall result social justice for the whole Indonesian people [Ref. 5]

The Pancasila, belief in one God, humanitarianism, national unity, consultative democracy, and social justice are repeatedly invoked by military officers as criteria to judge the efficacy of particular programs or the threats to society of social groups. For the military, the Pancasila is above politics, it is not subject to public debate or ridicule; however, it may be invoked, explained and discussed to ensure better understanding and greater implementation. Unlike the Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, which the military leaders viewed applicable to all Indonesians, the Seven Pledges and the Soldier's Oath apply only to military personnel. The Seven Pledges are as follows:

- We are citizens of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia based on the Pancasila.
- We are Indonesian patriots, bearers and defenders of the state ideology, who are responsible and know of no surrender.
- We are Indonesian knights, who are devoted to the one God, and to defend honesty, truth and justice.

- We are soldiers of the Indonesian Armed Forces, guardians of the Indonesian state.
- We, soldiers of the Indonesian Armed Forces uphold discipline, are obedient and observant to our leadership, and uphold the Soldier's Attitude and Oath.
- We, soldiers of the Indonesian Armed Forces set ourselves to perform our task with courage, and are always ready to devote ourselves to state and nation.
- We, soldiers of the Indonesian Armed Forces, are loyal and keep our word and Soldier Oath.

The first three points imply guidance in exercising their function as a socio-political force, and the next four provide guidance in executing their function as defense and security force. The third Pledge is particularly interesting. Indonesian officers and soldiers view themselves as "Satria" (knights). This ancient Javanese concept asserts that a member of the Satria has both the right and the duty to involve himself in any segment of society to help solve social problems. The Satria earns his status through noble deeds and is always present in any crisis. In the Soldier's Oath, Indonesian officers and enlisted personnel pledge:

To be faithful to the government and obedient to the laws and ideology of the state. To obey military law. To execute my duties with full responsibility to the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia. To firmly uphold military discipline, meaning to be obedient, faithful and subordinate, as well as devoted to superiors without questioning their orders or decisions. [Ref. 2]

Usually the Seven Pledges and Soldier's Oath are mentioned just after the Pancasila and 1945 Constitution as fundamental tenets of the Indonesian Armed Forces. In the exercises of the Dual Function, the ABRI will always be guided by these philosophies.

B. THE ABRI AND SOCIETY

In terms of Janowitz's categories of civil-military relations in new countries, the Indonesian case belongs to the fourth category, namely civil-military coalition. The military "serves as an active political block in its support of civilian parties and other bureaucratic power groups". The military participates actively in national life and feels itself responsible for its success or failure in national development.

The socio-political thrust of the ABRI is directed towards intensifying the acceleration of national development while the objectives are:

- In the ideological field: to strengthen the conviction in the spirit of the Pancasila in all aspects of national and social life.
- In the political field: to realize democratic socio-political life based on the Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.
- In the economic field: to create a national economy where every citizen has freedom to choose a job and has the right to have a decent job and income, to undertake modernization in every field especially agriculture.
- In the socio-cultural field: to develop a healthy national character which is capable of withstanding negative influence from abroad as well as from domestic sources and to improve national unity, to eradicate differences caused by ethnicity or regionalism.

The socio-political function is performed through Karyawan or "Functionals" (members of the ABRI serving outside the Department of Defense and Security including the Armed Forces). The Functionals are put in legislative, judicative as well as executive Bodies as the need may rise [Ref. 10]. The Armed Forces do not participate in the elections, but get a certain number of seats in the representative bodies. Functionals also serve in executive agencies as Ministers, Provincial Governors, Manager of State Firms, etc.

The means used for the performance of the socio-political function, especially to perform "socio-mobilization" to support the goal of national development, is a grouping of all functional groups called the Golongan Karya - GOLKAR. Golongan Karya is one of the three political organizations in Indonesia now (Function Groups - Golkar, Moslim Party - PPP, Secular party - PDI).

As a social force, the ABRI has a position parallel to that of political parties and Functional Groups. The ABRI regards these political organizations as colleagues in the struggle and always works shoulder to shoulder with them in making a success of national development. Therefore, cooperative relation between the ABRI and political organizations need to build and to be maintained as well as possible, with the spirit of the family principle and deliberations for concensus.

The ABRI and the political organizations have their origins in the same source, namely the people. So, each of them has the obligation to create and maintain national cohesion and unity in the context of developing a democratic way of life that is based upon Pancasila. In Indonesia, the system of civilian supremacy or military supremacy does not exist. The whole nation is constructed as a big family where the principle of family spirit prevails.

Civil military relations in Indonesia are illustrated by the operation of the ABRI faction in Parliament, which essentially serves as a national sounding board [Ref.2]. Senior officers are often placed in key billets outside the Department of Defense and Security. The ABRI staff, under the Chief of Staff for socio-political affairs, selects an appropriate man, obtains ministerial agreement, and arranges training. When assigned to another ministry, an officer wears civilian clothes and reports through his

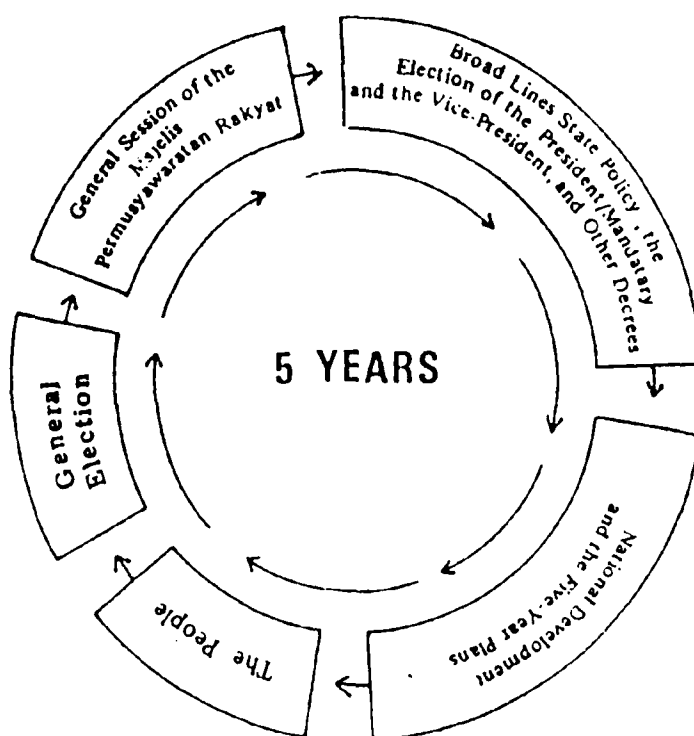
new chain of command, but his performance is monitored by ABRI and he is expected to uphold military standards.

C. THE ABRI AND POLITICS

One of the most fundamental achievements in the new order is the acceptance of Pancasila as the sole ideology upon which any political and social organization should be built. It opens a new atmosphere in political terms, especially compared to the previous political situation where petty political differences were likely to balloon into major political conflict.

The new order has also succeeded in reducing the number of political parties while at the same time the socio-political function of the ABRI has also become an established fact and commonly accepted. Another important achievement is the holding of a general election every five years. As such, it becomes more and more an established democratic institution. In line with that, a new People's Consultative Assembly is formed every five years to elect the President and Vice President, formulate the general guidelines of the state policies, and make other principle decisions. At this period, it can be said that Indonesia has been successful in building a pillar of her democratic political system. A lot of ground has been gained in establishing a solid foundation for further political development. In addition, a lot of ground has been gained in establishing a solid foundation for further political development. Figure 2 shows the cycle mechanism of national leadership in Indonesia now.

Figure 2: The Cycle of the Mechanism of National Leadership



Note: Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat - People's Consultative Assembly

Sources: Republic of the Indonesia Armed Forces
MANUAL on the DUAL FUNCTIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES

D. ABRI AND FOREIGN POLICY

Indonesia's Department of Foreign affairs (DEPLU) is headed by a civilian but several of the DEPLU'S most senior positions, especially in Southeast Asia, are occupied by retired officers.

The assignment of the Indonesia contingents to various regions of the world, under the banner of the United Nation Organization (U.N.O.), is one of precepts in support of the ABRI in relationship to the Indonesian Government's foreign policy. In addition to the regional point of view, the ABRI carries out cooperative maneuvers with other neighboring armed forces such as those of Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, The Philippines and Australia.

E. ABRI AND THE ECONOMY

Total military expenditures, as represented by the gross national product, have declined steadily since the 1960's. Nevertheless, because of historical circumstances of economic necessity, and some doctrinal predisposition, the Armed Forces were deeply enmeshed in the working of the national economy in the early 1980's. The role of the ABRI services in the national economic life greatly expanded under the condition of the 1960's when the services, like many other Government Departments, were caught in a tightening fiscal squeeze between cost and the depreciating monies that were allotted them in a period of serious inflation.

The ABRI also plays a hand in the selection of the economic policies of President Suharto's regime through ties with its most important economic technocrats. In late 1962, the curriculum at the Army Staff and Command School was broadened to include lectures on a wide range of non-military subjects.

In 1965 some of these lectures were presented by a group of economists trained at the University of California at Berkeley. It was to these technocrats that Suharto turned when seeking economic guidelines for the new order and when setting up and running his government. The ABRI has strongly supported their programs, and many analysts refer to the military-technocrats alliance as providing one foundation of the President Suharto regime. Although not the only state institution that engaged in business in order to generate extra budgetary income, the Armed Forces certainly were the most energetic and successful in that regard.

Commercial activities under the various territorial commands in the early 1980's commonly included the use of military trucks for transportation and freight for hire. The Indonesian Army, Navy and Air Force are involved in major consumer cooperatives (Incopad, Incopal, Incopau) at the national, regional, and district level. Their joint venture activities include shipping, storage, forestry, fishing and repair of ships.

Another field of the ABRI economic activity was that which was carried out under the doctrinal rubric of dual function. The armed forces civic mission had as their purpose community development and generating local employment opportunities. A large proportion of army territorial forces were engaged in such work as road building, the improvement of rural conditions and the development of agriculture.

F. THE ABRI AS DEFENSE AND SECURITY

ABRI as defense and security forces is the core of the people in the arms concept of the Total People's Defense System. Its principle tasks are to continuously safeguard the existence of the United state of the Republic of Indonesia based on

Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, to safeguard the Unity of the nation, to safeguard the integrity of the territory and to safeguard the continuity of the National Development. Suffice to say, those tasks are implemented not only in a state of emergency, but also in a state of civil order; not only for the defense and security of the nation but also in all other fields. Of course, those tasks should be performed in coordination with other social and socio-political forces, departments, and government agencies.

The missions of ABRI are to deter and curb any form of threat from without and within; to ensure the sound and dynamic national stability; to maintain and enhance the combat effectiveness and the level of readiness as well as to train the people in carrying out their obligation in the defense and security of the state.

The strategic approach of the defense mission is deterrence. Together with the whole populace, ABRI has to dissuade any potential enemy from the threat or use of military force by virtue of the overwhelming people resistance, the spirit of the freedom fighter which is never to surrender, and the combat effectiveness and the operational readiness of ABRI. Any enemy will face the militant mass of people imbued in the Pancasila, patriotism and spirit of never to surrender ABRI as a force in being and the vastness of the whole territory. They have to face the fact that their objective shall not be commensurate with the losses and suffering they may experience. Their entire force and funds will be surely exhausted.

For the implementation of the Total Defense and Security System, the whole territory is divided into several KODAM (Regional Territory Command). The KODAM as a strategic compartment constitutes a self-sustained strategic entity, and thus each

of them has operational command authority as well as management authority. Operationally, the Commander in Chief of the KODAM is directly responsible to the Commander in Chief of the ABRI. For management matters, he is responsible to the Chief of Staff of the Army. In time of war and emergency, KODAM can stand on its own.

Under the KODAM, there are regular forces, namely Army battalions. In time of war, KODAM develops, manages and deploys citizen as well as regular forces. In time of peace, Kodam conducts territorial management.

Territorial management is directed toward the materialization of space, means and conditions suitable for the total Defense and Security System. The main objectives are:

- A basis for resistance at certain levels of the region in line with the strategy and operational concept.
- An organized people resistance force, which is well- trained.
- A functioning regional logistic system.
- A well managed supporting element.

Basically, a KODAM is located at the provincial level. It is structurally divided into KOREM (Military Resort commands), KODIM (Military District Command) at the regency or municipal level, and KORAMILS (military Sub-district Command) at a sub-district level. At the village level there are a number of NCOs who are responsible to the commanding officer of the KORAMIL. Their presence among the grass-roots of the population is very important in the actual day-to-day management of the

territory. They constitute the tips of the nerve system of the defense and security of the state.

Another Army force is KOSTRAD (the Army Strategic Command). This force is basically a centralized mobile unit designed to reinforce KODAM in regaining lost territory. There is also a special force unit for operational intelligence purposes. In war time, the Navy and the Air Force will be jointly be tasked with impeding, to the greatest possible extent, the adversary's use of Indonesian waters and its approach areas, and degrading the aggressor's offensive capabilities in order to gain time and space for final combat preparation of the ground forces. In peace time, the presence of combatants of the Indonesian Navy should demonstrate the government's resolution to safeguard the maritime interest of the country. In addition, as with any other navy, there are many other tasks which involve the navy such as:

- To contribute to the maintenance of international law and order at sea.
- To conduct search and rescue operations on the high seas and in coastal waters.
- To foster international relations by visits of ships to foreign countries.
- To support marine scientific research.

The Air force is tasked with collecting, by means of reconnaissance, information on the enemy's capabilities and intentions, and with participating in combat operations in accordance with the concept of joint operations. Counter-air operations should ensure the protection of forces and territory from air attack. They have to achieve an air situation which will enable the forces to continue their operations. They have to degrade the hostile land forces' tactics and freedom of action and deny the introduction

of reinforcement from an enemy's rear. They also provide support to the ground forces at the focal points of battle to support the Naval forces in air defense and air offensive operations. The air defense operational units are assigned to the KOHANUDNAS (the National Air Defense Command) so as to be able to respond instantly to any surprise attack.

The state police is tasked with the enforcement of law and order of the society. Unlike other countries in general, the police force is put under the command of the Commander in Chief of ABRI. This is based on the concept of threat-expelling coverage of those areas subject to brutal spectra. This will also enable the Commander in Chief to obtain the information on the development of the situation and to take preventive measures in the earliest possible opportunity before it becomes more serious.

VI. THE INDONESIAN ARMED FORCES CIVIC MISSION

A. THE CIVIC MISSION

One of the manifestations of the ABRI's dual function in exercising its function as a social force to enhance the development and the realization of government programmes is the ABRI's Civic Mission for Rural Development (ABRI Masuk Desa-AMD). This program has been executed by phases since the 1980's with priority given to rural and isolated areas. The targets selected are considered to be urgent due to the limited ability of the people in the rural and isolated areas to meet their most pressing needs. In other words, this Civic Mission for Rural Development is also aimed at equity and the promotion of national development activities for the rural and isolated areas in the whole territory of Indonesia.

Before the emergence of the ABRI's Civic Mission for Rural Development around the turn of the eighties, each service of the ABRI had conducted some social activities to enhance the success of rural development, which is still going on right now. In order to give further explanation of the ABRI's Civic Mission for Rural Development, it is necessary first to explain the activity of each service of the ABRI in support of national development, and they are as follows:

1. Civic Mission of the Army

As a component of ABRI, beside implementation of its main task in the field of state defense and security, the army also works in the socio-political field in

the framework of giving substance to increase compatibility of the activities of national development and its result of the development.

Since the implementation of the first civic mission of the ABRI for rural development around the eighties, up to the present time, the Army has always played a major role. For example, in 1980 about 50 companies of the Army, together with local people, worked to finish the improvement or construction of the village infrastructures with projects such as: village roads, bridges, tertiary irrigation networks, water pumps, dams, village halls and schools. Beside taking part in the civic mission program of ABRI for rural development, the Army has also conducted various efforts in areas such as in Java, Sumatra, Kalimantan and Irian Jaya.

2. Civic mission of the Navy

As a unit of the defense and security the navy has participated for rural development as follows:

- To support the people in the field of health services especially those living in isolated islands, in addition to giving guidance to the local people on the defense of the state.
- To assist in the transportation of materials, construction equipments needed for development activities, and the transportation of transmigrants to outside Java.
- To assist the transportation and installation of television broadcasting stations in isolated islands in order to enhance the transmission of development messages on education.

3. Civic mission of the Air Force

A number of activities under the civic mission program, which have been carried out by the Air force are as follows:

- To conduct what was called "Operasi Jembatan Udara" (Air Bridge Operation). This operation was aimed at overcoming the delay of air transportation due to a pilot strike of the Garuda Indonesia Company by mobilizing heavy and medium aircrafts including facilities for transportation of passengers and goods to all territories of Indonesia.
- To assist the national search and rescue team in search of and giving help to victims of air or sea accidents.
- To give help to eradicate contagious diseases in isolated areas.
- To participate in the artificial rain projects in Java, Nusatenggara and South Kalimantan in order to support agriculture development.
- To assist in the transportation of transmigrants, and telecommunication equipment to some isolated areas, and transportation of construction materials to West Irian.

4. Civic Mission of POLRI

As a social force, the POLRI has taken part in the implementation of the transmigration program by constructing schools and establishing the reformatory treatment houses of handicapped/narcotics victims. In addition, the POLRI is also involved in the ABRI civic mission for rural development through organization of an information campaign on law enforcement.

B. RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Rural development as an integral part of national development has a very strategic implication. Because the rural areas are inhabited by 82% of the total Indonesian population, they constitute the basis of national resilience for all territory of the unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Rural development encompasses politics, ideology, socio-culture, and religion as well as defense and security.

Through rural development, efforts are made to encourage the rural society to have perseverance and strength, which gives them the capability to overcome any kind of challenge in their region.

The promotion of ABRI and of people's unity are very important, especially at the moment when all Indonesian people are active in carrying out the development. The unity of ABRI and the people constitutes a primary infrastructure for the success of the national development. The village is the unit of national development as well as the foundation of the total people's defense and security. Approximately 82% of the Indonesian people settle in villages and deserve the interest for their promotion. The success of rural development will guarantee the equity of development and favorable economic growth as well as sound and dynamic territorial stability. In pursuance of these programs and ideas, the Ministry of Home Affairs has formulated three levels of the village namely:

1. Traditional auto-activity village, called Desa Swadaya.
2. Self initiative village which starts to promote itself, called Desa Swakarya.
3. Self sufficiency village which is capable to stand on its own capability in all fields called Desa Swasembada.

These three references are used as guidance in search of the background of the activities of the ABRI's civic mission for rural development. [Ref. 9]

In general, the purpose of the ABRI's civic mission for rural development can be classified as follows:

- To promote the national union and unity as a strong basis for the System of Total People's Defense and Security.

- To assist the government in promoting people's welfare and to speed up rural development.
- To encourage the public into auto activity to carry out their regional development.
- To implant and to promote the awareness to one's self and to act as a safeguard to the State, and enhance the social order for the people.

Since 1985, ABRI has promoted itself by carrying out the activities in other strategic development sectors, namely ABRI's Civic Mission for reforestation and the civic mission for transmigration.

The targets that will be achieved through ABRI's Civic Mission for Rural Development are principally to mobilize the patterns that can encourage the people on their own resilience to manage and develop their villages as well as preserve their environment.

C. GAINS OF ABRI's CIVIC MISSION

The ABRI civic mission organized from 1980 through 1987 has completed 24 stages, extended to all provinces territories, covering 1585 Districts, 2178 Subdistricts, and 43296 Villages. The number of assigned troops amounts to 1439 companies (Each Company consist of 150 people) [Ref. 9].

The physical gains in general can be illustrated as follows:

1. In support of Agriculture

- Opening roads to connect remote areas, and the construction of bridges, dams, reservoirs, irrigation networks, and market places.
- Creating irrigated rice fields or farms.

2. In support of the family welfare

- Constructing low cost housing and public health centers.
- Drilling and installing water pumps and piping networks for fresh water supply.
- Establishing sport fields and family lavatories.

3. In support of the preservation of the living environment

- Terrace making and re-greening.
- Constructing dams, drainages and fences.

4. In support of the public utility

- Installing electric poles and power stations.
- Constructing or rehabilitating houses of worship, school buildings and civil defense posts.

5. In support of the transmigration

- Preparing settlement houses for 500 families, public facilities, and a drainage channel in Mamuju District, South Sulawesi.
- Establishing a sports square and regreening for transmigrants.

The participation of ABRI and the people in reforestation as well as in transmigration, has provided valuable experiences, and required seriousness and strong will to solve the difficulties caused by nature. On the other hand, these experiences have developed a sense of love towards nature itself and expanded awareness concerning the importance of the preservation for the survival of humans.

The ABRI's civic mission for rural development is still going on up to the present time. Slight modifications have been made, both in number of participants and the projects, in order to accelerate the national development.

VII. THE OPINION YOUNGER GENERATION OF ABRI

The purpose of this chapter is to support the discussion in the previous chapters concerning the Pancasila and the role of ABRI in national development under Dual Function doctrine. For this purpose, it was necessary to conduct a survey in order to obtain data/opinions from the younger generation of ABRI as aforementioned.

In this case, the target of the survey was all Indonesian Officers who were studying at Naval Postgraduate School and International Defense Management Course during 1990. There were sixteen officers, which consist of: four colonels, three lieutenant colonels, six majors and three captains.

We used a questionnaire in the form of a check list to obtain their opinions about Pancasila and Dual Function. The questions and the summary sample data can be seen in appendix.

Their answer to question number 11a, can be summarized as follows:

- AMD will promote and implant the awareness to safeguard the state and the social order for all people.
- AMD promotes national union and unity as a fundation for defense and security.
- AMD makes people will feel closely and friendly with ABRI. This feeling will support ABRI in establishing the national defense and security.

Based on these summary sample data, we can say that the younger generation of ABRI support the Pancasila and the role of ABRI in national development under the Dual Function doctrine.

VIII. CONCLUSION

Clearly, The Indonesian Armed Forces have contributed widely to modernization and national development. This paper has illustrated the role of the Indonesian Armed forces from the period of survival until the period of giving substances, to the independence through national development as conducted at the present time.

The role of the Indonesian Armed Forces in society is officially formulated under the name "Dual function" meaning two missions. The first as defense and security and the second as a socio-political force. In the course of its history for the achievement of national development ideals and aims, the Indonesian Armed Forces have undergone four periods of development as follows:

- Period of war for independence.
- Period of liberal Democracy.
- Period of guided Democracy.
- Period of the New Order.

During these periods, The Indonesian Armed Forces have always been confronted with turbulence that has endangered the national unity and safety of the nation and state. Nevertheless, the Indonesian Armed Forces managed to uphold Indonesia's unity, secured the country's independence, and maintain national security against threats such as from Communists, radical Muslims etc. This is evidence that The Indonesian Armed Forces as a defense and security force, have been able to create stability in the

sense of creating a condition that supports the acceleration of national development. In addition, the Indonesian Armed forces have also achieved their goal of military unity, while centralizing and rationalizing the Command structure.

As a socio-political force since 1966, the Indonesian Armed Forces have dominated the country's political and economic life, bringing far more stability and development than Indonesia experienced before 1966. The role of the Indonesian Armed Forces has been influential in the positive sense, both as a dynamizing and stabilizing factor in national development.

One of the most fundamental achievements is holding the general election regularly every five years. As such, it becomes more and more established as a democratic institution. In line with that, a new people's Consultative Assembly is formed every five years which elects the President and vice President and formulates the general Guidelines of State policies. At this stage it can be said that Indonesia has been successful in building the pillars of her Democratic political system.

As a social force, the civic mission of Indonesian Armed Forces for rural development have had positive impacts in accelerating the national development and strengthening the national union. This unity now gives a strong basis for the promotion of the System of Total People's Defense and Security. Major economic problems still face the country such as overpopulation, under-employment and limited industrialization.

One's evaluation of the Armed Forces depends on the criteria chosen. The Indonesian Armed Forces judges its own success by two measures, security and development. By these criteria, the Indonesian Armed Forces are doing quite well.

Whatever the evaluation, the Indonesian Armed Forces will dominate Indonesian politics for years to come. At this moment the Indonesian Armed Forces is the only institution in Indonesia which is both dedicated to national unity, stability and development, and capable of effectively governing the country.

A. THE PROSPECT OF THE INDONESIAN ARMED FORCES IN THE FUTURE

The magnitude and intensity of the role of the Indonesian Armed Forces under the Dual Function will depend on two factors. The first is the national situation and condition, particularly the ability of the government and the people to achieve national welfare and defense security. Second, it will depend upon the extent and seriousness of any danger that may tend to threaten the security of the country and people, the Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. In this regard, the Indonesian Armed Forces must stress greater professionalization to raise the general level of its capacity and also strive to foster better communication with the civilian sectors. By so doing, the Armed Force will strengthen the relationship between itself and the people. A relationship characterized by understanding and cooperation is necessary for the continuation of national growth and development.

APPENDIX
THE QUESTIONS AND SUMMARY SAMPLE DATA

1. Do you think Communist ideology is better than pancasila?
Answer: 1) yes (0) 2) no (16)
2. Do you agree, that Pancasila can be changed by other ideology?
Answer: 1) yes (0) 2) no (16)
3. Do you think Pancasila can guarantee the strength national unity?
Answer: 1) yes (16) 2) no (0)
4. Are the seven Pledges and Soldier's Oath a contradiction to the Pancasila?
Answer: 1) yes (0) 2) no (16)
5. Is the application of Dual function ABRI contradictory to the Seven Pledges and the Soldier's Oath?
Answer: 1) yes (0) 2) no (16)
6. Do you think the implementation of the Dual Function ABRI will strengthen national stability?
Answer: 1) yes (16) 2) no (0)
7. Do you agree with program civic duty of ABRI?
Answer: 1) yes (16) 2) no (0)
8. What is the direct impact of the application of the Dual Function within government?
Answer: 1) positive (16) 2) negative (0)
9. What is the direct impact of the application of the Dual Function on the economy?

Answer: 1) positive (16) 2) negative (0)

10. What is the direct impact of the application of the Dual Function on social welfare?.

Answer: 1) positive (16) 2) negative (0)

11. One of the implementation of the Dual Function ABRI is AMD (Civic Mission Armed Forces for Rural Development). Do you think AMD has an impact to the national defense and security?.

Answer: 1) yes (16) 2) no (0)

- 11a. Why do you feel this way?.

Note: the number inside parentheses indicates the number holding that sample position.

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